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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 HARARE 000238

SIPDIS

NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR J. FRAZER  
LONDON FOR C. GURNEY  
PARIS FOR C. NEARY  
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TAGS: [PGOV](#) [ZI](#) [ZANU](#) [PF](#)

SUBJECT: ZANU-PF HAS NO SOLUTIONS FOR ZIMBABWE'S CRISES

REF: A. 02 HARARE 913

[1](#)B. 02 HARARE 898

[1](#)C. 02 HARARE 873

Classified By: Political Officer Kimberly Jemison for reasons 1.5 b/d.

[1](#)1. Summary: (SBU) The Central Committee Report from the 2002 ZANU-PF annual conference held on December 14 in Chinhoyi provides additional insight into the concerns of the party and, by extension, the Government of Zimbabwe. Its demonization of the MDC and the West and justification of the land program throughout the document hint at the desperation the party Politburo feels at maintaining control of party members and the country. End Summary.

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ZANU-PF Central Committee Report Parrots Mugabe's Speech  
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[1](#)2. (SBU) The Central Committee Report from the 2002 ZANU-PF annual conference held on December 14 in Chinhoyi provides additional insight into the concerns of the party and, by extension, the Government of Zimbabwe. The report is filled with the same rhetoric the party espoused last year but highlights some additional party concerns. The 64-page official document of ZANU-PF's 6th National People's Conference is poorly written and long. It is divided into 16 sections, each representing a department. Most department reports offer little in terms of annual accomplishments, challenges, and proposed solutions but focus on the fight against the imperialist West and MDC. The departments that had few accomplishments to report admitted that a lack of resources was the reason, as most party resources were redirected to campaign activities.

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Opposition Threat Dominates Report  
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[1](#)3. (SBU) The party is keenly focused on crushing the opposition and dissenting political views. Highlighted activities in 2002 focused not only on winning the presidential, mayoral, rural district council, and parliamentary by- elections but also on destroying the opposition threat. The Departments of Administration, Education, Youth Affairs, Commissariat, Information and Publicity, and National Security engaged in activities in support of these objectives.

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Party Emphasizes Youth  
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[1](#)4. (SBU) Reports from the Departments of Education, Youth Affairs, and Commissariat indicate that deterring college and university students from turning into active opposition politics was a major objective in 2002. The party claimed to have mobilized 258,000 youth, in part through the creation of the National Youth Service Scheme, to participate in the presidential campaign and most of them executed their tasks effectively. The Department of Commissariat praised the youths (and war veterans) stating, "In most provinces, the youths and war veterans coined polished strategies which were utilized in mobilizing the people for the March 9 to 11 polls." The Commissariat also credits the tight security by the ZANU-PF youths as well as Kadoma Town Council road repair and demolition of old, dilapidated buildings prior to the election for the party's success in the Kadoma mayoral race. The National Youth Service Scheme focused on paramilitary drills but the party would like to include patriotism, good citizenry, community consciousness, and selfless service to the disadvantaged and elderly in the community. The party also created the Zimbabwe Progressive Students Union (ZIPSU) to counter the Zimbabwe National Students Union (ZINASU) and lamented the presence of teachers who introduce opposition politics in the classroom.

[1](#)5. (SBU) In addition to the youth mobilization, the Department of Information and Publicity implemented the Liberation Struggle Films Project. The project's objective was to show films about the liberation struggle at business centers and growth points around the country. The Department's other objective was to combat the onslaught against the nation spearheaded by so-called independent

media.<sup>8</sup> According to the report, these efforts were constrained by a lack of financial and human resources that included a lack of equipment and transportation for journalists.

#### ZANU-PF/MDC Dialogue

16. (SBU) ZANU-PF places all blame on the MDC for failed unity talks brokered by Nigeria and South Africa, claiming the MDC failed to satisfactorily address the following four key issues:

1. The MDC being a stooge for the British and a tool for white interests making it impossible for ZANU-PF to engage in meaningful dialogue;

2. The MDC being committed to violence as a means of getting to power;

3. The MDC refusing to accept the results of the Presidential elections; and

4. The MDC's lack of patriotism because they campaigned for sanctions from abroad. The report also asserts that the thrust of the Abuja Agreement was Nigeria mediating between Zimbabwe and Britain NOT ZANU-PF and MDC. (See Reftels A, B, and C for background on talks.) The report states that the party is concerned that such mediation would internationalize a local issue and invite external intervention.

#### The International Threat Dominates Report

17. (SBU) One of the overarching themes of the report is the perceived threat to Zimbabwe's sovereignty and independence. The Department of Administration lists overcoming this threat by Britain, which sought to reassert her imperial control...thereby reversing the gains of (our) independence...<sup>8</sup> as one of the major challenges the GOZ faced during 2002. Reports from the Departments of Administration, Commissariat, External Relations, National Security, Information and Publicity, and Legal Affairs refer to this international threat several times.

18. (SBU) The Legal Affairs Department asserts that most of its resources were dedicated to defending the party and members from frivolous litigation instigated by the MDC and foreign interests. The report goes so far as to claim that the MDC lawsuits have led to arrests of party members: "To effect the diabolical and nefarious objectives of its foreign sponsors, MDC has resorted to making spurious claims and false allegations against members of the Party leading to arrests of party members countrywide."<sup>8</sup>

19. (SBU) The Department of National Security reports that the MDC, CFU, British Government, and right-wing groups threaten the nation. The Department insists that there exists a "looming military threat from Britain and her allies including the United States of America<sup>8</sup> to intimidate the party and government into submission and frustrate the land reform program.

#### Threat From Within

10. (C) The Department of National Security, in its section of the report, acknowledges that factionalism within the ZANU-PF party ranks is a major threat to its continued dominance. The report notes that factionalism first surfaced in Manicaland and Masvingo but has recently spread across the "political" divide. (Note: The problem in Masvingo from ZANU-PF's perspective is most likely Eddison Zvobgo although there is at least one other MP from Masvingo, Charles Manjange, who has expressed more moderate views than the party leaders. End Note.)

#### Proposals to Shut Out Opposition

11. (SBU) The Departments of National Security and Commissariat propose several policies designed to limit the influence of the MDC. National Security advocates policies that would shut out non-ZANU-PF supporters from many aspects of the political economy, such as: 1) A biased policy of development of rural and resettlement areas where the ruling party enjoys its support; 2) Recruitment into the civil service from the National Service Training Center only; 3) Immediate removal/retirement from government of individuals critical of government policies; and 4) Programs to upgrade Chiefs' living standards. (Comment: The latter program presumably is intended to endear chiefs to the party (if they are not already party members) who would then pressure the villagers to support ZANU-PF. End Comment.)

12. (SBU) The Department of the Commissariat recommends that the Registrar-General's Office be reorganized because some

MDC members were appointed presiding officers prior to the election and the voters, register was not properly updated. According to the report, several white MDC members who renounced their Zimbabwe citizenship discovered they were still on the voters, roll and decided to vote. The Commissariat also recommends that ZANU-PF revisit its ideology, administration and finance, mobilization strategies, research, information technology, and economic policies if it is to survive the onslaught of imperialist powers.<sup>8</sup>

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Land Program Not As Planned  
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¶13. (SBU) The third theme of the ZANU-PF report is justification of the land program. The Administration chapter reiterates the GOZ rhetoric on the necessity of quickly transferring land from whites to blacks and cautions party members to remain vigilant for the enemy who is working hard to penetrate (the) party's stronghold communities in rural areas.<sup>8</sup> The report states that the party and government pursued the land redistribution exercise with great vigor and speed since December 2001 but is concerned about the rate of plot take-up under the A2 commercial model, which is slow because of conflicts between people newly allocated land and those already occupying the land. The report does not claim the redistribution is economically or agriculturally successful.

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Comment  
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¶14. (C) It is apparent from the Central Committee report that ZANU-PF is obsessed with crushing the opposition, vilifying Britain and the West, and forging ahead with land redistribution to the exclusion of economic and social issues. The party has no solutions for the interrelated crises consuming Zimbabwe. In fact, as these crises deepen, we are certain to see an increasingly paranoid Government intensify repression of its population and amplify its anti-imperialist, pro-sovereignty rhetoric. End Comment.  
SULLIVAN